THE HEROIC CLAUSULA IN CICERO AND QUINTILIAN

By F. W. Shipley

In their discussion of the theory of prose rhythm Cicero and Quintilian agree in insisting upon the avoidance in prose of combinations of feet which would produce the effect of verse. Their remarks upon the heroic clausula – ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ seem, however, to be contradictory. Cicero, if the text is correct in *Orator* 217, apparently approves of the combination; Quintilian, on the other hand, explicitly condemns it: ix. 4. 102, ne dactylus quidem spondeo bene praeponitur, quia finem uersus damnamus in fine orationis. In practice it is used by Quintilian, who condemns it, with relatively greater frequency than by Cicero, who apparently approves of it. The combination is, however, comparatively rare in both. In the speeches of Cicero[1] there are 107 period clausulae of the form – ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ out of a total of 17,092 = .6 per cent; in the first three books of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*,[2] there are 23 examples out of a total of 1,233 clausulae = 1.9 per cent.

The passage in Cicero *Orator* 217 reads as follows: ne iambus quidem, qui est e brevi et longa, aut par choreo, qui habet tris brevis, *trochaeus*, sed spatio par, non syllabis, aut etiam dactylus, qui est e longa et duabus brevibus, si est proximus a postremo, parum uolubiliter peruenit ad extremum, si est extremus choreus aut spondeus. Zielinski remarks (pp. 59–62) that it is surprising, to say the least, that Cicero has grouped among the clausulae of the second class the form 1, which is the most common of his clausulae, the cadence of 3³, and the clausula heroica; and on p. 167 he says that

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Cicero has through an oversight classed the clausula heroica among the permissible clausulae.   Laurand, also recognizing the discrepancy between Cicero's theory and his practice, states (p. 167) that, if one considers the text of *Orator* 217 as complete, it is clear that Cicero recommends the clausula heroica.   He deems it best, however, to suppose a lacuna in the passage and to regard as a separate sentence "Dactylus qui est a longa et duabus brevibus, si est proximus postremo, parum uolubiliter pervenit ad extremum, si est extremus choreus aut spondeus."   This would bring Cicero's statement into harmony with that of Quintilian.   But this solution fails at a very crucial point, namely, that if Cicero had intended to condemn in prose the heroic clausula, he would not have used the words *parum uolubiliter*.   The end of the hexameter can scarcely be said to be deficient either in "roll" or in "rapidity."

The apparent discrepancy between Cicero's statement and that of Quintilian, and between Cicero's own theory and practice, may, I think, be satisfactorily explained without emending the text of *Orator* 217, by comparing the prose clausulae of the type $- \smile \smile - \asymp$ with the types of hexameter endings employed by the poets.   Not all combinations of $- \smile \smile - \asymp$ necessarily form the heroic clausula.   In Virgil, for instance, the end of the hexameter is practically limited to two forms: *moenia Romae* and *adire labores* (with which may be reckoned *primus ab oris*).   The reason is that Virgil, in the last two feet of the hexameter, observes the harmony between verse ictus and word accent, viz., $\acute{-} \smile \smile \acute{-} \asymp$.   The other combinations occur so rarely as to be practically negligible.   On the other hand, Horace, who, as he himself says, writes in his *Satires* but versified prose, makes use of verse endings like *quid faceres cum, ingluvie rem, est femur aut crus, Sarmentus equi te*, which, if taken out of their context, would never be recognized as heroic endings at all.   One cannot read them as verse without doing violence to their ordinary accents.

The same meter, measured solely by the standard of longs and shorts, may, with change of accent and of word division, give rhythms totally different in their effect, e.g., $\acute{-} \smile | \smile \acute{-} \asymp$ or $\acute{-} \smile \smile | \acute{-} \asymp$, the two favorite forms of the heroic clausula, on the one hand and $\acute{-} | \smile \smile \acute{-} \asymp$ or $- \smile \smile \acute{-} \asymp$ on the other where the accent falls naturally upon one of the short syllables of the dactyl.   For the sake of illustration I

have given in the accompanying table the relative frequency (expressed in percentages) of the various combinations with the metrical value $-\,\smile\,\smile\,-\,\asymp$ in the clausulae of Cicero's *Orations* (col. I), in the verse endings of his translation of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus (col. II), in the verse endings of Catullus lxiv (col. III), of Lucretius, 500 ll. of Book i (col. IV), and of Horace *Satires*, Book i, Satires 2 and 5 (col. V). In this way Cicero's usage in prose is compared with the technique of his own hexameters, and with that of the hexameters of contemporary writers, including those whose subject-matter was essentially prosaic, as was the case with much of Lucretius and the *Satires* of Horace. In col. VI, I have given the clausulae of this type in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, Books i–iii. The figures for Quintilian are based upon the dissertation of Gladisch, with one addition which he seems to have overlooked. The number of cases, 23 in all, is here too small to give a satisfactory percentage table; e.g., 3.6 per cent represents but a single instance.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
	Cicero Orations Period clausulae 107 examples	*Phaenomena Arati* 540 ll.	Catull. lxiv, 407 ll.	Lucretius 500 ll.	Horat. *Sat.* i. 2 and 5. 238 ll.	Quintilian, Books i–iii. 23 clausulae
$-\,\smile\,\smile\,-\,\asymp$ commemorare........	30.	.9	.7	4.	2.1	39.
$-\mid\smile\,\smile\,-\,\asymp$ non uideatur........	40.	.5	.5	2.8	2.	34.
$-\mid\smile\,\smile\mid-\,\asymp$ Roman]i grave fatum	.9	4.2	....	2.2	8.2	7.2
$-\mid\smile\,\smile-\mid\asymp$ id(em) aditus sunt..	.9	....	....	.2	1.2	....
$-\mid\smile\,\smile\mid-\mid\asymp$ quae data non sunt	1.9	.2	....	....	.4	....
$-\mid\smile\mid\smile\mid-\,\asymp$ ip]sum sed ab uno..	.9	....	....	....	....	....
$-\mid\smile-\,\asymp$ bo]nis ut haberet ...	1.9	....	....	.6	.2	3.6
$-\smile\mid\smile-\,\asymp$ uelle uidebam......	*14.	29. ⎫	34. ⎫	47.6	34.5	3.6
$-\smile\mid\smile-\mid\asymp$ huius in illum......	1.9	3.3 ⎭	⎭		4.2	....
$-\smile\mid\smile-\mid\asymp$ dex]terque simul pes .	....	.3	.2	1.6	.8	....
$-\smile\mid\smile\mid-\mid\asymp$ usus in hac est.....	....	.2	....	....	.8	....
$-\smile\,\smile\mid-\,\asymp$ foedere cautumst....	* 4.6	60.	62.	39.8	38.3	3.6
$-\smile\,\smile\mid-\mid\asymp$ corpore prae se.....	....	.2	....	.6	4.1	....
$-\smile\,\smile-\mid-$ impositae sunt.......	1.9	.7	....	.6	1.6	....

* Including corrupt passages.

It is evident at a glance that the forms which occur most frequently in prose are rarest in poetry, and that the forms which are most frequent in poetry are relatively rare in prose. We

have here an inverse ratio. The types *commemorare, non uideatur,* which together form over 70 per cent of all the types occurring in prose, fall to less than 1.5 per cent in the *Arati Phaenomena,* and in Catullus, and to 6.8 and 4 per cent respectively in Lucretius and Horace's *Satires.* (The relatively high ratio in the two latter is due to the prosaic character of their subject-matter.) Conversely, the two favorite forms of poetry, *uelle uidebam, foedere cautumst,* are relatively rare in prose. The type *foedere cautumst,* which ranges from 62 per cent to 38 per cent in poetry, falls in prose to 4.6 per cent in Cicero and to 3.6 per cent in Quintilian. The type *uelle uidebam* (to which should be added *huius in illum,* as giving the same accentual and metrical value) ranges in poetry from 47.6 per cent to 32.3 per cent. In prose it falls to 3.6 per cent in Quintilian, and to 15.9 per cent in Cicero. The figure in Cicero is here larger than that in Quintilian, but a number of corrupt passages are included, and, as I shall show later, the rhythm in all the remaining cases is broken by a sense pause after the trochee, forming a marked caesura which is alien to the heroic clausula.

The normal accentuation of words of the type *uideatur* is in prose *uídeátur.* Words of this type cannot be adapted to verse without having the secondary accent upon the first syllable reduced. Hence such words are avoided by the non-didactic poets. The relative frequency of the type in Cicero is due to the fact that with its normal accentuation it does not suggest the heroic clausula. The words of this type used in Cicero's orations in the combination ᐃ ǀ ᴗ ᴗ ᐃ ≍ are:[1] uideatur 2, uideamus, potuisse, potuissem, potuisset, potuissent, potuerunt, potuisti, numerare, numerasse 2, dubitavit 2, adierunt, fateatur, revirescent, reticere, recitavit, repetebant, violasti, tribuatur, veniebat, loqueretur, referatur, cumulasti, revocabunt, morientem, uolitarunt; alienum, alieno, legione, regionem, inimicum, decumano, popularis, populare 2, Casilinas, Leterensis.[2] The examples consist largely of verbs. In Quintilian, Books i–iii, there are the following:[3] loquerentur, referantur 2, tueatur, Theodectes, puerorum, monumentis, περίεργον. The examples from the *Arati*

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[1] The numeral after a word indicates the frequency of its occurrence.

[2] For the citations see Zielinski *Das Clauselgesetz,* pp. 163–66.

[3] For citations see Gladisch *loc. cit.*

Phaenomena consist entirely of proper names: Capricornum, Capricorno, Aquilai.

The examples of the type *commemorare* in Cicero's *Orations* are:[1] commemorare, commemorabo, commemoravit, commemoratur, transigeretur, Siciliensi, conficiuntur, surripiatur, corripiendum, eripiatis, proposuerunt, discruciatur, compesuisses, flagitiorum, restituatur, continuabunt, applicuisti, implicuisses, confiteantur, deficiebant, inferiores, consuluisses, splendidiora, polliceantur, suscipiendi, invenietis, aedificatam, coniiciebant, iudiciorum, suppeditatam, significarent. Those from Quintilian are:[2] accipiamus,[3] impediatur, composuerunt, conciliandus, instituatur, accipienda est, iudiciorum, utilitates, dissimulator. It will be noted that in Cicero and Quintilian most of the examples of this type, as in the case of the type *uideatur*, consist of verb forms.

The five examples from Cicero's translation of the *Arati Phaenomena* are: Taygeteque, Cassiepia, Cassiepiae, Anguitenentis, posteriores. There are here no verbal forms at all.

The ratios for words of the type *commemorare* are almost identical throughout with those for the type *non uideatur*. The type is nearly as frequent in prose, and is even rarer in poetry than *non uideatur*. This would be exceedingly difficult to explain, if, as Zielinski states,[4] the accent was *còmmemoráre*. In this case one would expect the usage to be frequent in poetry, as giving $\cdoteq \smile \smile \cdoteq \smile$. But the examples in poetry are exceedingly few, and there are no forms of compound verbs. This fact, and the frequency of the type in prose, would indicate that the accent was not *còmmemoráre*, as Zielinski thinks, but *commèmoráre*. The retention of the second syllable in compound verbs of this type in Old French indicates that this syllable retained a secondary accent in vulgar Latin. Words of the type *comménoro*, when increased by conjugation, tended, then, to retain a secondary accent on the syllable which in the shorter forms had held the primary accent. The accentuation *commèmoráre* explains the frequency of the form in prose, and its rarity in the hexameter of even the Ciceronian age, which was much less perfect in its technique than the Virgilian.

[1] For the citations see Zielinski *op. cit.*, pp. 163–66.

[2] For citations see Gladisch.

[3] Not given by Gladisch.

[4] *Das Clauselgesetz* 235.

If we interpret the heroic clausula as including only those com-
binations of the dactyl and spondee which have the form $-\smile\smile-\approx$,
that is to say, those combinations which have no accent upon either
of the short syllables of the dactyl, e.g., *moenia Romae, adire labores,
primus ab oris,* and as excluding those forms which have an accent
upon the first short syllable of the dactyl, the discrepancy between
Quintilian and Cicero and between Cicero's theory and practice is
easily explained away.   When Cicero says (*Orat.* 217), "ne iambus
quidem . . . . aut . . . . *trochaeus,* aut etiam dactylus . . . .
parum uolubiliter pervenit ad extremum, si est extremus choreus
aut spondeus," it is not unlikely that he had in mind such types as
compòsuìsse, nòn uìdeátur, which, by reason of the accent, would not
suggest the cadence of the hexameter.   That he did have in mind
the avoidance of the recognized type of the heroic clausula is indicated
by the qualification expressed in *etiam,* "or *even* the dactyl."   One
might have expected, in his reference to the combination of dactyl
and spondee, some comment upon the avoidance in prose of the
heroic clausula, but the convenient footnote had not yet been in-
vented, and his sentence was already overloaded with parentheses.
Quintilian, on the other hand, has the end of the hexameter definitely
in mind in ix. 4. 102, *quia finem versus damnamus in fine orationis,*
and in ix. 4. 75, *Peius cludit finis hexametri.*   He here gives as an ex-
ample a clausula from a letter of Brutus, *placuisse Catoni* = $-\smile\mid\smile--$,
which gives the accentual as well as the metrical cadence of the
hexameter.   Another passage, ix. 4. 101, throws some light upon
the question.   Quintilian is here speaking of the double spondee:
"duo spondei non fere iungi patiuntur, quae in versu quoque
notabilis clausula est, nisi cum fieri potest ex tribus quasi membris:
cur . . . . *comparant contra nos?* una syllaba, duabus, una."   In
other words, two spondees may be used when the word division
does not suggest poetry.   This is precisely what the examples
show for the use or avoidance in prose of the various combinations
of dactyl and spondee.

Having limited the heroic clausula to the prevailing usage of
poetry, viz., $-\smile\mid\smile-\approx$, $-\smile\smile\mid-\smile$ (and $-\smile\mid\smile\mid-\smile$), let us now con-
sider the clausulae in Cicero and Quintilian which are of these
types.

Examples of $\unicode{x2013}\smile\smile\mid\unicode{x2013}\smile$:

1. *Rosc. Com.* 37. Fannium . . . . testimonium contra se dicere | cogo.

2. *Agr.* ii. 58. Atque etiam est alia superiore capite, quo omnia ueneunt, quaestuosa exceptio, quae teget eos agros de quibus *foedere* | cautumst.

3. *Phil.* viii. Senatus | haec uerbis, *Opimius* | armis.

4. *Phil.* xi. Summa in filio spes, summa ingenii indoles, summaque uirtus.

5. *Phil.* xiii. Est etiam ibi Decius ab illis, ut opinor, muribus, itaque Caesaris munera | rosit.

6. Quint. *Inst. Orat.* i. 6. 3. Consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone ut nummo cui *publica*| forma est.

Of these, (4) is corrupt and may therefore be dismissed. The enclitic *que* is practically never added to trochaic adjectives ending in a vowel unless the next word begins with a vowel and there is elision.[1] The passage should be emended by omitting *que*. All the other examples have a sense pause between the dactyl and the spondee.[2] The pause after *Opimius* (3) was recognized by Zielinski, and is made necessary by the balance between *senatus* . . . . *Opimius* and *verbis* . . . . *armis*. In (1) *dicere* phrases more closely with *testimonium contra se* than with *cogo*, and there is a phrase pause. In (2) a pause is necessary to bring out the emphasis upon *foedere*. A pause is also necessary after *munera* (5) to bring out the force of the pun; and in (6), the example from Quintilian, to bring out the emphasis upon *publica*. In hexameter verse there is ordinarily no pause after the dactyl in the fifth foot, and a pause in that position in prose serves to break up the heroic rhythm.

Turning now to $\unicode{x2013}\smile\mid\smile\unicode{x2013}\asymp$, if we omit *Quinct.* 28, *esse uidetur*, *Cat.* i. 9, *quam rem publicam habemus*, *Pis.* 95, *poena remansit*, where the text is uncertain, the examples in Cicero and Quintilian are as follows:

1. *Rosc.* 30. Quid ab his tot maleficiis sceleris abesse | uidetur ?

2. *Div.* 8. Tamen nihil aeque in re publica atque illam ueterem iudiciorum uim gravitatemque | requirit.

3. *Act.* i. 19. Indignum iis, qui altius perspiciebant et hanc gratulationem ad iudicium corrumpendum spectare | uidebant.

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[1] This is discussed in a paper on the "Treatment of Dactylic Words in the Rhythmic Prose of Cicero," *Transactions Am. Phil. Assoc.*, Vol. XLII.

[2] This is discussed in the paper mentioned in note 1.

4. *Verr.* iii. 24.   Satisne uobis magnam pecuniam Venerius homo. . . . .
Veneris nomine quaesisse | uidetur ?

5. *Verr.* iii. 199.   Quid aratorem ipsum arationis nomine muneris in rem
publicam fungi ac sustinere | uelitis ?

6. *Verr.* v. 59.   Praeclara illa non populo Romano reddita | biremis, sed
praetori donata | cybaea.

7. *Cluent.* 202.   Nemo huic tam iniquus . . . . fuit, cuius non animum
expletum esse | putemus.

8. *Flacc.* 57.   Tamen quantos fluctus excitari in contione | uidetis!

9. *Balb.* 22.   Tum, utrum fundi facti sint annon quaerendum esse | ui-
detur.

10. *Planc.* 101.   Hos pro me lugere, hos gemere, hos decertare pro meo
capite vel uitae periculo uelle | uidebam.

11. *Rab. Post.* 39.   An, cum credebat inductus usuris, id agebat, ut
haberet quam plurimum; postea quam exegit, quod crediderat, ut *existi-
maretur* egere.

12. Quintilian i. 4. 25.   Et ex iis qui post natos eveniunt, unde "Vopis-
cus."

In the hexameter, as I have already said, the last two feet ordi-
narily belong to the same word group, and there is no caesura.   In
all of the examples in the above list, a pause before the final bacchius
of longer duration than is usual in the hexameter is demanded by
the sense.   In each case (except No. 11, where *existimaretur* is
strongly emphatic) the word which forms the trochee is grouped
more closely with the word or words which precede it than with
the bacchic word which follows.   This caesura, which I have marked
in the examples,[1] serves to break the flow of the clausula as in the
previous class, and the combination in question would probably not
have been recognized as a heroic clausula in actual delivery.   In
the passage from Quintilian there is an ellipsis (unde est illud
verbum "Vopiscus"), and a pause is again necessary to the sense.

To summarize, there is no real discrepancy between the statements
of Cicero and Quintilian; the prevailing types in prose, *compòsuísses*
and *nòn uìdeátur*, were not regarded as types of the heroic clausula,
on account of the accent upon the first short syllable of the dactyl;
and, in the rare cases where the heroic clausula ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ is used in
prose, the rhythm is usually broken by a caesural pause after the
first short of the dactyl, or by a diaeresis pause after the second short

[1] See note 1, p. 416.

syllable, whereas the heroic clausula has in verse no such pause. In prose rhythms accent and the place of the caesura play even a larger part than mere quantity,[1] and, where the accent fails to suggest verse, or a caesura is introduced which is foreign to the hexameter, meter alone is not sufficient to produce the effect of the heroic clausula.[2]

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[1] See Draheim *Wochenschrift für klass. Philologie*, 1910, nos. 47, 49.

[2] In the discussion of clausulae of the type $-\ \smile\ \smile\ -\ \asymp$ I have purposely refrained from using the terminology of the writers on rhythmic prose, for the reason that they do not agree. Zielinski calls it the cadence of P 3, and regards it as a pathological form of the cadence of the ditrochaic rhythm $-\ \asymp\ -\ |\ -\ \smile\ -\ \asymp$. Gladisch, on the other hand, regards it as a form of 1 ($-\ \smile\ -\ |\ -\ \asymp$), with a dactyl substituted for a cretic. Lack of space will not permit me to discuss the question of classification in the present article. I hope to revert to it at another time.